

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1014

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MADRID

S E C R E T BONN 13386

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, SP, GW

SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO: APPROACH TO FRG

REFS: (A) STATE 196617

(B) BONN 12993

1. THE EMBASSY IS CONFIDENT THAT THE FRG WANTS TO HELP SPAIN BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY, BUT WE DOUBT THAT THE FRG IS PREPARED TO GO VERY FAR OR VERY FAST AT THE PRESENT TIME. AT THE JUNE 12 BRUSSELS DPC MEETING LEBER APPARENTLY CHOSE TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF FRG POLICY. HOWEVER, AFTER SOUNDING OUT THE DANES AND DUTCH, WE SUSPECT THE DEFENSE MINISTER PROBABLY CONCLUDED THAT A SLOWER APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM WAS PREFERABLE, GIVEN THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT LEBER WAS EXPRESSING A GERMAN STRATEGIC WISH AND OBJECTIVE; FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE EXPRESSING GERMAN POLITICAL TACTICS IN A REAL WORLD. THE FOREIGN OFFICE, IN DEVELOPING THE CAUTIOUS FRG POSITION ON SPAIN REPORTED REF B WOULD, OF COURSE, PROBABLY HAVE OBTAINED SOME FORM OF CLEARANCE FROM THE

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DEFENSE MINISTRY.

3. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THE FRG IS PREPARED TO DO ALL IT CAN TO HELP, INCLUDING CONTINUED LOBBYING WITH NATO PARTNERS ON SPAIN'S BEHALF. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND GERMAN POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE TRIED TO BE AS ACCOMMODATING AS POSSIBLE IN DEVELOPING AND MAINTAINING CONTACTS WITH DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS IN SPAIN. WILLY BRANDT, FOR EXAMPLE, PLANS TO ATTEND THE PSOE CONGRESS IN OCTOBER (MADRID 5953). NEVERTHELESS, FRG LEADERS FEEL THEY CANNOT GET OUT IN FRONT OF THEIR EUROPEAN PARTNERS IN URGING CLOSER RELATIONS WITH SPAIN. THE PAST IS SIMPLY LADEN WITH TOO MUCH HISTORICAL BAGGAGE, I.E., NAZI GERMANY'S SUPPORT FOR FRANCO SPAIN DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. THE LEGACY OF THE CONDOR LEGION HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN NEITHER IN GERMANY NOR IN EUROPE. MOREOVER, POST-WAR GERMAN EFFORTS BY DEFENSE MINISTER STRAUSS AS WELL AS SEVERAL BUNDESWEHR GENERALS TO MOVE AHEAD ON THEIR OWN WITH RESPECT TO SPAIN BACKFIRED AND ARE ALSO NOT FORGOTTEN.

4. WHILE POLITICAL INHIBITIONS AGAINST CLOSER GERMAN-SPANISH RELATIONS ARE NO LONGER AS STRONG AS IN THE PAST, THE SPD LEADERSHIP IN BONN MUST CONSIDER THE INEVITABLE VOCAL REACTION FROM THE PARTY'S LEFT-WING WHICH ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD FOLLOW WERE THE FRG TO PUSH TOO HARD AND TOO PUBLICLY ON THE SPANISH QUESTION. WHILE THE SPD LEFT-WING HAS BEEN KEPT PRETTY MUCH UNDER CONTROL ON SECURITY ISSUES, THE LEFT NEVERTHELESS REPRESENTS A STRONG POLITICAL FACTOR WHICH LEBER IN PARTICULAR AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN GENERAL MUST ALWAYS TAKE INTO ACCOUNT.

5. TAKING ACCOUNT OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS AND IN RECOGNITION OF ALLIED SENSITIVITIES ON THE SUBJECT, WE ANTICIPATE THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO LEND ITS SUPPORT FOR SPAIN'S INCLUSION IN NATO IN A LOW-KEY MANNER WITH THE OTHER ALLIES. HOWEVER, THE FRG WILL PROBABLY BE LOATHE TO PUT ANY UNDUE PRESSURE ON THE ALLIES OR TO LEAD THE EUROPEANS PUBLICLY IN SUPPORT FOR SPAIN. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD EXPECT THE FRG TO CONTINUE

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ITS "GO SLOW, SMALL STEPS" POLICY, PARTICULARLY IF THE GOVERNING SPD/FDP COALITION RETURNS TO POWER AFTER THE OCTOBER ELECTION. SHOULD THE CONSERVATIVE CDU/CSU PARTIES FORM A GOVERNMENT, WE WOULD EXPECT A MORE POSITIVE DECLARATORY POLICY VIS-A-VIS SPAIN AND NATO, BUT EVEN THE CDU/CSU WOULD PROBABLY ALSO CHOOSE TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY IN THIS AREA.

HILLENBRAND

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